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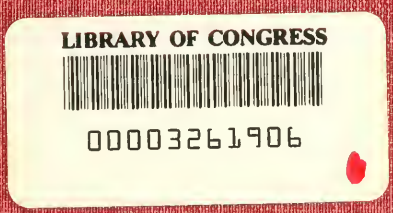

THE MONUMENT TO THE CHEVALIER DE SAINT-SAUVEUR.
KING'S CHAPEL, BOSTON.

THE MEMORIAL

TO THE

CHEVALIER DE SAINT-SAUVEUR

THE HISTORY OF THE MONUMENT AND OF THE VOTES TO ERECT IT, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE CEREMONIES AT THE DEDICATION, MAY 24, 1917

By FITZ-HENRY SMITH, JR.

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THE MEMORIAL

TO THE

CHEVALIER DE SAINT-SAUVEUR

AN ACCOUNT READ BY REQUEST BEFORE THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, DECEMBER 18, 1917, WITH ADDITIONS, BY

FITZ-HENRY SMITH, Jr.

"FEW men can afford to wait a hundred years to be remembered." So spake Elihu Root at the unveiling of the monument to Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, the engineer who made the plan of the City of Washington. L'Enfant died in 1825, and it was not until 1909 that there came public recognition of his great work. In the long interval his grave laid neglected — marked only by a tree — while the city rose in splendor about him. Then were witnessed these scenes: the remains of the forgotten man lying in state under the dome of the capitol, attended by the dignitaries of the nation; after the ceremonies there, a procession to Arlington, the hearse, wrapped in the colors of America and France, escorted by one of the regiments to which the Major had belonged; and — two years later, — the dedication of a monument over his grave, with addresses by the President of the United States and by the Secretary of State. Thus remembered and honored at last, the artist-soldier was placed in the great national cemetery on a slope overlooking the beautiful city that he had seen in his dreams more than a century before, and had planned for the mighty nation his vision told him the United States was destined to be.*

* See J. J. Jusserand, *With Americans of Past and Present Days* (New York, 1917), pp. 137 *ff.*

One hundred and thirty-nine years elapsed after the death of the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur before a monument was raised to his memory and dedicated with ceremonies as impressive in their way as those which were held in honor of the designer of the City of Washington. But the circumstances which caused the monument to be erected in Boston were very different from those which led to the memorial in the federal city. L'Enfant died in poverty and obscurity, cared for only by the man who befriended him in his last days, and upon whose property he was buried. The death of de Saint-Sauveur, on the other hand, was of grave concern to the men in authority at the time, and the state voted him a monument the day following his death.

Who, then, was the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur, and why was it voted that a monument be erected to his memory? The answer is contained in a forgotten chapter of the history of the town of Boston in the American Revolution.

The History of the Monument and of the Votes to Erect it.

On the 6th of February, 1778, there was signed at Paris a treaty of alliance between France and the United States, the only treaty of the kind to which this nation has been a party, and the first visible evidence of the support which was to come from it was the sailing to America, two months later, of a fleet of twelve ships of the line and five frigates (one of which was subsequently sent back with despatches) commanded by the Count d'Estaing and carrying as a passenger Gérard de Rayneval, the first ambassador of any nation to the United States.*

The fleet took a long time crossing the Atlantic, so long, in fact, that news of its coming reached America in season

* The fleet included the "Languedoc" of 90 guns, the "Tonnant" of 80, the 74s "César," "Hector," "Zélé," "Marseillais," "Protecteur" and "Guerrier," the 64s "Vaillant," "Provence" and "Fantasque," the "Sagittaire," 50 guns, and the frigates "Aimable," "Alcmène," "Chimère" and "Engageante," of 26 or 30 guns each.

for the British to prepare for it. They abandoned Philadelphia and concentrated at New York, and when d'Estaing arrived at the Delaware, on the 8th of July, he found that his enemy had moved, and detaching a frigate ("La Chimère") to take Gérard to Philadelphia, proceeded at once to Sandy Hook. At New York, we are told, the pilots balked at taking the larger French vessels into the harbor and the fleet was sent on to co-operate with General Sullivan in the campaign about to be undertaken in Rhode Island. There, a greater misfortune awaited, for several of the French vessels were badly damaged by a storm,* and d'Estaing acting under explicit orders given him for just such an emergency, on August 23, 1778, sailed for Boston.

The Count said, on leaving, that if he found at Boston the material he so urgently needed he would be ready to start anew to fight "for the glory of the French name and the interests of America." But Sullivan felt that he had been left in the lurch and he did not hesitate to say so, and whereas he was happily able to withdraw in safety from the difficult position in which he found himself, the abrupt termination of the Rhode Island expedition, from which much had been expected, was the cause of general disappointment and of some ill feeling among the people. What, if anything, this had to do with what afterwards took place in Boston, it is difficult to say.†

It is to be remembered that under the Duke de Choiseul there was a tremendous revival of the French navy and that Frenchmen were the master builders of the ships of the period.

"The hull of the 'Constitution' was modeled after the best French practice." Hollis, *The Frigate "Constitution"* (Boston, 1901), p. 38.

* The "Languedoc" was completely dismasted and broke her bowsprit and tiller, the "Marseillais" lost foremast and bowsprit, and the "Protecteur" was otherwise crippled. "So fierce was the storm," says Fiske, "that it was remembered in local tradition as lately as 1850 as 'the Great Storm.'" *The American Revolution* (Boston, 1902), Vol. 2, p. 93.

† See the interesting publication entitled *Extrait du Journal d'un Officier de la Marine de l'Escadre de M. le Comte d'Estaing* (1782), p. 38, for a contemporaneous French view of the effect of Sullivan's charges.

When he arrived at Boston, d'Estaing left his serviceable ships in Nantasket Roads arranged in such a way as to dispute the entrance of the British, should they attempt to follow, and brought his damaged liners into the inner harbor for repairs.* The exigency was considered so great that the French were permitted to work upon them on the Sabbath—"with as little Disturbance to the Inhabitants as possible, more especially during the time of divine Service," † and the visitors were well treated in Boston until, on the night of September 8th, there was an attack on the fleet bakery which had been established ashore, and in attempting to intervene, the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur and another officer, Pléville le Peley,‡ were wounded, the former by a blow over the eye which resulted in his death a week later.

De Saint-Sauveur was a lieutenant on the "Tonnant," the second largest ship in the fleet, flying the flag of his brother-in-law, the Count de Breugnon, one of d'Estaing's two "chefs d'escadre." In addition, the Chevalier held the position of "aide-major" in the fleet, and at home was the first chamberlain of Count d'Artois, the brother of Louis XVI.

So serious an affront to the ally of the colonies, and its fatal ending to one so close to the family of the French king, greatly disturbed the men in charge of the cause of American independence. It was feared that the townspeople might be implicated, and how the French would take it was doubtful. Who were responsible has not been determined to this day, but some of the crew of a privateer, which was said to include British seamen, were suspected of a part in the riot, and d'

* The "Marseillais"—"the Ship the nearest to the Town"—lay next to Governor's Island, where the French were given leave to land their sick. Mass. Archives, Documents, Vol. 169, p. 151.

† *Ibid.*, p. 158.

‡ Le Peley, who was attached to the "Languedoc" at the time had an eventful history. Early in his career he lost his right leg, which was replaced by a wooden one, and twice thereafter the wooden leg was carried away. He retired from active service in 1788 and was Minister of Marine under the Directory. Cf. Balch, *The French in America during the War of Independence of the United States*, Vol. 2 (Phil., 1895), p. 200.

Estaing, with rare good sense, was quick to act on the assumption that the attack was excited by British sympathizers. September 10th he wrote General Heath that the common enemy of the allies "hesitated at nothing," and later told the general that he was fully satisfied the inhabitants had no hand in the affray—to the great relief of the local authorities.

The American leaders for their part did everything possible to make amends, and thus it was that on September 16, 1778, the day following the death of the Chevalier, the General Court or Assembly of the State of Massachusetts Bay, out of respect to his memory, voted to "attend in Procession the Corps of the deceased to the Place of Interment" and to "provide a monumental Stone to be placed in the burial Ground where his Remains shall be deposited, with such inscription as his Excellency the Count d'Estaing shall order."

As there was yet some unrest, it was deemed wiser to forego a public funeral, and the young officer was buried quietly at night in the crypt of King's Chapel — in what has been thought to be the "stranger's tomb," so called, underneath the porch of the church. But d'Estaing was much impressed and later when he wrote to his superior of the vote of the state and what he had done in consequence, he expressed the hope that the king would "be satisfied by the public and sincere marks of the regret of the Americans," adding "they could not do more, and I must assure you that they would have liked to do far more." *

After the burial the men in command of the allied forces gave public evidence of the friendship and understanding that existed between them. September 22d, d'Estaing and his officers paraded in Boston and attended numerous receptions, and on the 25th there was a grand love feast in Faneuil Hall, at which the following toasts were given :†

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* Letter of Nov. 5, 1778, printed in the Report of a Recess Committee on the monument. (May, 1906), Mass. Senate, No. 402, p. 5.

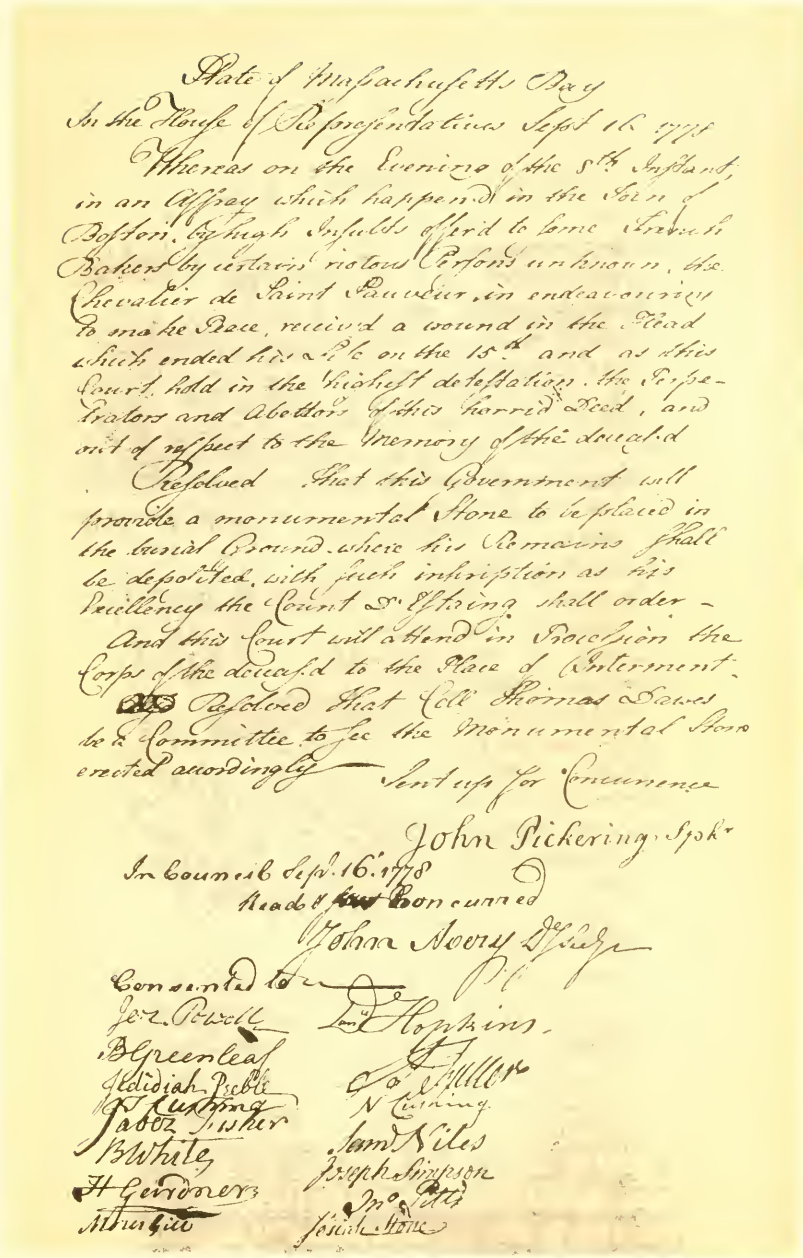
† Lacour-Gayet, *La Marine Militaire de la France Sous le règne de Louis XVI.* (Paris, 1905), p. 173, note.

1. America.
2. The King of France.
3. Congress.
4. The French Fleet.
5. Gen. Washington and the American Army.
6. The Independence of America.
7. The Alliance between France and America; may it never be broken.
8. The French Minister to Congress.
9. Franklin, the American Minister at the Court of France.
10. Liberty and the Friendship of France.
11. Commerce, Art, and Agriculture.
12. M. d'Orvilliers and all his Army.
13. The Count d'Estaing and all the Officers of the French Fleet in Boston Harbor.
14. (By d'Estaing.) The President of the Council and all Americans here present.
15. Monseigneur, the Duke de Chartres.
16. The Queen of France.
17. M. Du Chaffault.
18. The Marquis de La Fayette.
19. American Ships and Sailors.
20. All the Women and Young Girls who have lost their Husbands and Sweethearts in the Good Cause.
21. The Duke de Choiseul.
22. M. de Sartine.
23. M. de Maurepas.

General Washington, who had been informed of the riot, was well pleased when he learned that it had terminated in such a manner as to convince the French that no public insult was intended by the people of Boston, and he sagely advised that all possible means should be taken "to cultivate harmony between the people and the seamen" who, he apprehended, would "not be so easily reconciled as their officers, not having so much sense to direct them."*

D'Estaing drafted the inscription for the monument — dated September 28th in the log book of the "Languedoc" — and

* Letter of Sept. 22, 1778, in "Heath Papers," Vol. 1, p. 95 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 5th Ser., Vol. 4), printed in a Report of the Committee on Libraries (April, 1905), Mass. Senate, No. 336, p. 17.



State of Massachusetts Bay

In the House of Representatives Sept 16 1778

Whereas on the Evening of the 8th Instant, in an Affray which happened in the Town of Boston, by rash Insults offer'd to Some French Sailors by certain riotous Persons unknown, the Chevalier de Saint Saveur, in endeavouring to make Peace, received a wound in the Head which ended his Life on the 15th and as this Court, hold in the highest detestation, the Perpetrators and Abettors of this horrid Deed, and out of respect to the Memory of the deceased

Resolved That this Government will provide a monumental Stone to be placed in the burial Ground where his Remains shall be deposited, with such inscription as his Excellency the Count D'Estaing shall order —

And this Court will attend in Procession the Corps of the deceased to the Place of Interment.

Resolved That Coll Thomas Dawes be a Committee to see the Monumental Stone erected accordingly — Sent up for Concurrence

John Pickering Spkr

In Council Sept. 16. 1778

Read & Concurred

John Avery D Secy

Consented to —

Jer. Powell — Lem. Hopkins.

B Greenleaf — J. Fuller

Jedidiah Preble — N Cushing

Jabez Fisher — Jam. Niles

B White — Joseph Simpson

H Gardner — Jno Pitts

Wm Gill — Josiah Stone

THE VOTE OF THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1778.

From the original in the State Archives.

caused copies of it to be distributed in the fleet that his men might know of the action taken. But the task of establishing harmony between the seamen of the two nations proved, as Washington anticipated, more difficult to accomplish, and no small part of the difficulty seems to have been due to the attitude of the American sailors. Rows are said to have occurred on the 26th and 27th of September, and on October 5th there was a street fight between the French and "some American seamen" followed by secret hints that "a much greater disturbance" would take place on the next night. Whereupon the Council ordered Heath to call out the troops, and intrusted to the Sheriff of Suffolk County the not very enviable duty of attending the troops to "see that no unlawful measure be taken in Quelling the Riot." *

That and like energetic action by the local authorities prevented further serious outbreaks.† Early in November, d'Estaing sailed away to the West Indies, and with the departure of the fleet the Saint-Sauveur incident passed into history.

In 1903, the French government published a roster of all the French forces that fought in the war of the American Revolution,‡ and the same year there appeared in Paris a private work on the French sailors and soldiers in the war§

* Mass. Archives, Documents, Vol. 200, p. 132 and Vol. 169, p. 200.

† On the evening of October 12th the American Brig "Hazard" came into the harbor and dropped anchor immediately alongside the Schooner "Dolphin," commanded by M. Bouguier, an officer of the French fleet. Although hailed and requested to move, the Americans paid no attention except to reply in terms characterized chiefly by force. The matter was then called to the attention of the authorities by the French consul, who feared the outcome, and the Council promptly told the commander of the "Hazard" to move her at once and to "order his men not to treat the men on board the 'Dolphin' with any opprobrious language in time to come." Mass. Archives, Documents, Vol. 169, p. 217.

‡ *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Américaine.* (Reprinted at Washington in 1905 as a Senate Document. 58th Congress, 2d Session. Document No. 77.)

§ De Noailles, *Marins et Soldats Française en Amérique Pendant la Guerre de L'Indépendence des États-Unis*, pp. 46 *ff.*

which told the story of the death of the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur and quoted the account of his burial, as written by the secretary of the fleet, in the church "dite chappelle du roy."

Col. Chaillé Long, a founder of the French Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, had been one of the commissioners appointed to search the archives for the material of the publication of the French government just mentioned. In the Records of the Marine he found what has been referred to as the log book of the "Languedoc," d'Estaing's flag ship, containing an account of the Chevalier's death and the inscription on his monument, and he inquired of Capt. Albert A. Folsom of Brookline in what cemetery in Boston the monument was erected. The Captain knew nothing about it, and as a result of the inquiry Bostonians had a rude awakening. For whereas the riot seems not to have been wholly unfamiliar to local antiquarians, little appeared to be known about the vote of the assembly for a monument to the victim, and less could be told about the place of his interment. An investigation revealed that the vote had never been carried out.

We can only speculate as to the reason. It is to be noted, however, that the resolve carried no appropriation and that the stone was to be erected in the burial ground where the Chevalier's remains should be deposited. The burial took place in a church.* It would seem that the interment there was only temporary, with the expectation that the body of the young Frenchman would later be removed to some cemetery in the town — if it were not shipped to France, a not unlikely disposition in view of the high family connections of the deceased. Whether anything further was done with it, we do not know. Col. Thomas Dawes, who was charged with the duty of erecting the monument, does not seem to have recalled the matter to the attention of the Court. Ap-

* The church seems to have no record of the interment, and Foote's *Annals of King's Chapel* (Boston, 1882 and 1896), makes no mention of de Saint-Sauveur or of his burial.

parently the trying labors of the authorities during the remaining years of the war, and in the critical period following when the nation was established, served but too well to cause them entirely to forget an affair which they had every reason to hope had been ended for all time. And it was not long before the Americans of 1778 found themselves at war with their late ally.

But the reason why the vote was not carried out was not the issue. Massachusetts had said that it would erect a monument to the memory of the Chevalier and had failed to do so, and Capt. Folsom called the matter to the attention of the legislature of the Commonwealth through the Hon. Prentiss Cummings of Brookline, who filed a petition which was referred to the Committee on Libraries. The committee investigated the subject, and in April, 1905, made a report* relating how the question had arisen and publishing much of the available data about de Saint-Sauveur and his death, to which data I acknowledge that I am indebted.

In closing the report, the committee said: "In war and in peace Massachusetts keeps her promises. Here is an event filled with uncertain and distressing possibilities at the time, which, in the more comprehensive view of the present, had the matter not been disposed of to the entire satisfaction of the French officers, might have ended the French alliance, and changed materially the subsequent history if not the results of the war of the revolution. Yorktown might never have been a lustrous, historic name. The State had failed in its primal duty to keep the public peace; the death of a French officer of distinction had been the result. All the reparation possible at the moment was made. The omitted or forgotten detail should be supplied, and to this end the committee recommend the passage of the accompanying resolve."

The resolve called for the appointment of a recess committee to report to the next General Court "such action as shall seem to them appropriate to carry out, at least in spirit, the

* Senate No. 336.

promise implied" in the resolution of September 16, 1778. It was enacted as Chapter 72 of the Resolves of 1905, and under it a recess committee was appointed, which in its turn made a report* recommending legislation authorizing them "to cause to be erected, on behalf of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, a monument with a suitable inscription thereon in the cemetery of King's Chapel in Boston, subject to the grant of a site therein by the city of Boston," and for a sum not exceeding three thousand dollars.

The Court indorsed the recommendation by passing a resolve† granting the authority requested but cut the amount of the appropriation in two, which disarranged the plans‡ of the committee. Capt. Folsom thereafter died, the appropriation lapsed, and a second vote of the legislature of Massachusetts for a memorial to the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur failed to be fulfilled.

That was the situation when in 1916 the Bostonian Society took up the matter and filed a petition in the General Court which resulted in a resolve§ signed by the Governor on the 1st of June appropriating one thousand dollars "for the erection, at some appropriate place in the City of Boston, of a monument with a suitable inscription, to the memory of the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur" and for the appointment of a commission to carry the legislation into effect. The commission was appointed June 14, 1916, and consisted of Courtenay Guild, as Chairman, Grenville H. Norcross, J. Randolph Coolidge, Jr., and the late Robert S. Peabody.‖

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* May 1906, Senate No. 402. † Chap. 104 of the Resolves of 1906.

‡ The monument planned was to consist of two bronze tablets embedded side by side in a granite block, with a suitable base, one tablet to have the French inscription as prepared by d'Estaing, and the other an English translation, which was the Count's idea of the manner in which the inscription might appear on the monument, as appears from his letter of November 5th, printed in the committee's report.

§ Chap. 151 of the Resolves of 1916.

‖ Mr. Guild was Chairman of the Committee on Memorials of the Bostonian Society and Mr. Norcross President of the Society, and Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Peabody were the wardens of King's Chapel.

Previously the project had been submitted to the proprietors of King's Chapel, who became greatly interested, and at a meeting on April 24, 1916, voted "to permit the placing of a monument in memory of the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur on the north exterior wall of the church tower or in the plot between the tower and the church-yard."

Mr. A. W. Longfellow, a member of the Bostonian Society, was employed as architect and in consultation with the commission worked out the design of the memorial. It was their aim to have the monument, so far as might be, of a form that was likely to be chosen in the period when the Chevalier died. There are monuments in this country, erected in the 18th century, of the general type of the memorial to the Chevalier. But it is an interesting circumstance that the design adopted was inspired by a monument in the Bunhill Fields Burial Ground, London, E. C., erected in 1725 in memory of

> "Joseph Collette, Esq., late of Hertford Castle, sometime President and Govenor of Fort St. George in East India, who lived and dyed in the firm Belief in the Resurection."

The monument to de Saint-Sauveur is of concrete granite, fourteen feet high, and was made by Emerson & Norris of Boston. Standing on a base is a plinth, with tablets of green slate on all sides, which forms the pedestal and supports a dwarfed obelisk, with four cannon balls at the foot of the obelisk as appropriate emblems.

On the tablet facing Tremont Street is the inscription in the main just as d'Estaing wrote it, the only changes being those made necessary by the fact that the monument was erected at a later time and by a different authority than was orignally contemplated, that the preface has been translated into English as is fitting on a monument in a country speaking that language, and that the name of the vessel to which the Chevalier was attached and the date of his death have been inserted in brackets, as was suggested by the recess committee of 1905.

Surmounting the inscription is a bas-relief of the arms of the Chevalier's family, flanked by dolphins indicative of his naval service, and upon the rear tablet appear the words :

ERECTED IN CONSEQUENCE
OF A RESOLVE OF THE
STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY
16 SEPTEMBER 1778
AND OF A RESOLVE
OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF
MASSACHUSETTS
1 JUNE 1916.

The inscription as d'Estaing wrote it was as follows : *

Ce monument a été érigé en conséquence d'une délibération de Massachusetts-Bay, du 16 Septembre 1778, en mémoire de M. le Comte de Saint-Sauveur, premier Chambellan de son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Comte d'Artois, frère de Sa Majesté le Roy de France.

Cet officier, aide-major de l'escadre française et lieutenant de vaisseau après avoir eu le bonheur de risquer sa vie pour le service des Etats-Unis, remplissait son devoir lorsqu'il a été la victime d'un tumulte causé par des gens malintentionnés; mort avec le même attachement pour l'Amérique, les liens du devoir et de l'inclination qui attachent ses compatriotes à la ville de Boston en ont été plus resserrés. Puissent être ainsi infructueux à jamais tous les efforts qu'on oserait tenter pour séparer la France et l'Amérique. Telle est la prière que feront dans les siècles à venir au Dieu tout puissant, tout Français et tout Américain qui jetteront les yeux sur le mausolée d'un jeune homme enlevé à des amis qui ne peuvent se consoller de l'avoir perdu, qu'en voyant de pareilles fleurs funéraires répandues sur son tombeau.

Cette inscription, proposée selon l'énoncé de la délibération, par le Comte d'Estaing, Commandant de la première escadre française envoyée par le Roy de France aux Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, ses alliés, a été approuvée par (ici est écrit le nom des officiers géneraux et de tous les commandants des vaisseaux avec celui de leurs batiments et leur force), et a été gravée sur cette pierre, sous la direction du Colonel Thomas Dawes, nommé à cet effet par le Gouvernement.

* See the Report of the Recess Committee, Senate No. 402 (1906), p. 7.

In Memory of

THE CHEVALIER DE SAINT SAUVEUR

first Chamberlain of his Royal Highness,

Count d' Artois, brother of his Majesty

the King of France

" Cet officier, aide-major de l'escadre française et lieutenant de vaisseau [sur le Tonnant] après avoir eu le bonheur de risquer sa vie pour le service des Etats-Unis, remplissait son devoir lorsqu'il a été la victime d'un tumulte causé par des gens malintentionnés ; mort [le 15 Septembre 1778] avec le même attachment pour l'Amérique, les liens du devoir et de l'inclination qui attachent ses compatriotes à la ville de Boston en ont été plus resserrés. Puissent être ansi infructueux à jamais tous les efforts qu'n oserait tenter pour séparer la France et l'Amérique. Telle est la prière que feront dans les siècles à venir au Dieu tout puissant, tout Français et tout Américain qui jetteront les yeux sur le mausolée d'un jeune homme enlevé à des amis qui ne peuvent se consoller de l'avoir perdu, qu'en voyant de pareilles fleurs funéraires répandues sur son tombeau ".

Cette inscription a été préparée par le Comte d' Estaing
l'Amiral commandant de la première escadre française
envoyée par le Roy de France aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique

De Saint-Sauveur was in his 28th year when he died, as appears from the Records of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and his name is there given as "Grégoire Comte de Saint-Sauveur." The text of the inscription — quoted above — which Ambassador Jusserand obtained from the Records of the French Navy for the recess committee of 1905, also calls him the Count de Saint-Sauveur, and he is so titled in a letter of his brother-in-law, de Breugnon. Elsewhere he is usually referred to as the Chevalier* — including the inscription as contained in the log book of the "Languedoc," and the compilation of the French government of 1903, where his name appears in the list of lieutenants on "Le Tonnant" with the words, "mort à Boston en septembre 1778." So the title Chevalier was used on the monument as that by which he was commonly known.

The style "Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur" means that the bearer was a cadet or younger son of a family the designation of whose title was "de Saint-Sauveur." Only a scion of the older nobility could hold such a position as chamberlain to the king's brother, and the family of de Grégoire Marquis de Saint-Sauveur was of that nobility. "Comte de Saint-Sauveur" would be a natural courtesy form for the son of a marquis, which accounts for the use of the title Count in the French records and the letter of de Breugnon.

The designation "de Saint-Sauveur" was a *nom de terre*, the name of an estate. The family name of the Chevalier was de Grégoire; his Christain name we do not know. The family fief took its name from the Chateau de Saint-Sauveur which was a very famous mediaeval fortress, hence the castle on the arms,† the blazon of which is: "silver with chateau

* Writing to the Council Sept. 19, 1778, d'Estaing speaks of de Saint-Sauveur as the Chevalier. Mass. Archives, Documents, Vol. 200, p. 103. But in his report to the Secretary of State for the Marine, dated at Sea, Nov. 5, 1778, he calls him Count. Cf. H. Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis*, Vol. 3 (Paris, 1888), p. 460.

† For the drawing of the arms and for much of the information as to the family of de Saint-Sauveur and his title we are indebted to Mr. Pierre de Chaignon la Rose of Cambridge, Mass.

gules, surmounted by three towers crenelated, the same color." The coronet is that of a French marquis.

The monument was erected in the plot between the tower of King's Chapel and the burying ground, and thus nearly over the tomb where the Chevalier's remains are said to have been placed, and it was unveiled by Governor Samuel W. McCall, Thursday, May 24th, 1917, with appropriate and interesting ceremonies.

The Ceremonies at the Dedication of the Monument.

The Governor's invitation to the dedication set the hour at eleven o'clock in the morning, and at that time a procession formed in front of the State House headed by the Governor and including the speakers and invited guests, among them J. C. J. Flammand, Esq., the French Consul, at Boston, and a large delegation from the House of Representatives led by the Speaker, Hon. Channing H. Cox. It was intended to have M. J. J. Jusserand, the French ambassador, present to respond for France, but he was not able to leave Washington because of the arrival of the Italian War Mission, and his place was taken by Major, now Lieutenant-Colonel, Paul Azan, commander of the French mission to the Harvard regiment.

Escorted by a detachment of bluejackets from the U. S. Battleship "Virginia," with militiamen of the 5th and 8th regiments carrying the flags of the United States and France, of the Commonwealth, the Society of the Colonial Wars, the Sons of the Revolution, and the Sons of the American Revolution, and preceded by buglers, the procession marched down Park to Tremont Street and thence to King's Chapel, where it was met by the building commission. Traffic on the street had been stopped and a large crowd gathered. With the members of the legislature and the passers-by standing with bared heads, and the monument draped with the flags of the two nations the Chevalier had sought to serve, there came a blare of bugles, the bluejackets presented arms, and the Gov-

ernor removed the covering from the monument and placed upon its base a wreath with the tri-color of France.

The company then entered the church. After the flags had been placed in front of the chancel, prayer was offered by Rev. Howard N. Brown, D. D., minister of King's Chapel, and Mr. Courtenay Guild for the building commission formally reported to the Governor that the commission had completed its work and had erected the monument, which he said "not only represents a memorial to a gallant officer but in the hearts and minds of the people typifies their admiration for what France is doing for the cause of civilization."

REMARKS OF HIS EXCELLENCY, GOVERNOR MCCALL.

Governor McCall spoke of the erection of the monument as the fulfillment of a pledge of honor made by the state in the Revolution, and he referred to the enactment of the resolve for the monument, before the United States entered the present war, as demonstrating that the Commonwealth was not actuated by sentimental motives alone. "This occasion," he said, "serves to mark the love we have for France. When the event happened which the monument perpetuates we were the ally of France, and now, when the order of the General Court is carried out, we again find ourselves her ally."

He then introduced the Mayor of Boston, Hon. James M. Curley.

REMARKS OF HIS HONOR, MAYOR CURLEY.

Mayor Curley referred to the monument as an addition to the many historical treasures which Boston possessed, and one which would cement the union between this country and the nation which made sure our freedom. Said the Mayor: "Were it not for the chivalry of France the colonies would not have achieved their independence. And in this hour of France's peril, when she is bereft of so many of her men and women, we try to repay a debt of one hundred and forty

years ago, not as an obligation, not through compulsion, nor through necessity, but through a sense of love. France is calling aloud, and we offer of our best to the end that liberty may be possible."

The Governor next called upon Representative Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., of Boston, for an historical address, and Mr. Smith spoke as follows :

ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE SMITH.

Your Excellency, Major Azan, Fellow Americans :

In the winter of the ever memorable year of 1776, there arrived in Boston a young Frenchman, Lewis — for he wrote his name here in the English fashion — Lewis Ansart de Maresquelle, and on December 6 of that year he made to the government of the State of Massachusetts Bay this proposal. Describing himself as an old captain of infantry who had been brought in the forges of France, his family having for many years furnished all the iron cannon in the service of the French king, he said that while at one time all cannon were cast with a cylinder which left little holes, often the cause of bursting, his father had adopted the practice of casting cannon in a solid piece and boring them, and had invented a machine to do the boring. De Maresquelle then offered to disclose all his knowledge upon the subject, and agreed that if the state would supply the place and materials he would construct the furnaces, and when the mills were ready for boring would furnish one cannon ready for service every twenty-four hours out of the common iron ore within this state.

In return, he asked from the state the expenses of his trip to America and one thousand dollars a year until the end of the war, and after that time the sum of six hundred sixty-six and two-thirds dollars yearly during his life. He also requested the honor of a colonel's commission to give him rank, but without pay or command as such.*

* The text of this interesting "proposition" may be found in the State Archives, Court Records, Vol. 36, p. 298.

There was an imperative need for just such assistance as de Maresquelle was able to render, for we are told that the demand for cannon was so great at the time that they were taking up the old things that had been stuck in the ground as posts at street corners and restoring them to service. The General Court promptly accepted his proposition, and besides granting him a commission as colonel of artillery made him inspector of foundries.

He entered at once upon his duties and carried out his part of the contract throughout the war. Notwithstanding that he had stated that he expected no command, he could not resist the longing for active warfare, and when the Rhode Island campaign was organizing he sought an opportunity to go to the front, and the Board of War recommended him to General Sullivan as a brave and worthy man, glowing with ardor to signalize himself in the expedition, who came to offer himself with cheerfulness to any service for which he might be thought qualified. He served as an aid to Sullivan, and when the French fleet arrived at Boston was sent to supervise the construction of the works in the harbor which the French admiral desired to protect his anchorage.

Before the close of the war he married a Boston girl, and afterwards moved with her to Dracut, Mass., where he brought up his family and lived out his life a prominent and respected member of the community. Some ten years before his death he petitioned for authority to drop the "de Maresquelle" from his name, as he was about to take out naturalization papers and wanted to be naturalized as Lewis Ansart, "his Christian and family name," and over his grave in the "Old Woodbine Cemetery" at Dracut is a stone inscribed, "In memory of Col. Lewis Ansart."

The state upon its side carried out the contract in spirit and letter, adding to de Maresquelle's salary, when the value of the currencey depreciated, in order that the sum paid him might be equivalent to what it was stipulated he should receive, and paying him the amounts agreed, to the fraction

of a cent, until he died in 1804. In fact, the last payment (which was made to his legal representatives) was for eighty-seven dollars, three cents and two mills, in full of the balance due him at his death.

Lewis de Maresquelle was one Frenchman who came to the assistance of America, a compatriot of Lafayette in the employ of the State of Massachusetts, and later her adopted son, and thus did the state keep faith with one who served her truly in her hour of need.*

Less than three years after the shots were fired at Concord and Lexington the French king entered the contest as an ally of the struggling colonies, and on April 13, 1778, a royal fleet of ships of war, under the command of the Count d'Estaing, set sail from Toulon for the coast of the United States. Arriving at New York the fleet was despatched to Narragansett Bay to assist General Sullivan in an attack upon Newport. The English ships followed and d'Estaing put to sea to meet them, when, on the 11th of August, there arose a violent gale, known for many years after as the "great storm," which dispersed and damaged both fleets, and d'Estaing, assembling his ships as best as he could, headed for Boston to refit.

In command of the vessels which then came into our harbor were men bearing historic names. The captain of the 74 "Zélé" was Count Barras, who afterwards succeeded to the command of the squadron of Ternay, and who will ever be gratefully remembered by Americans for his timely arrival before Yorktown with the siege train of the French army. Another commander was Bougainville, who had served with Montcalm at Quebec, and who, quitting the army for the navy, left his name to posterity because of his celebrated voyage around the world. The captain of the "Fantasque"

* Due to the fact that de Maresquelle was in the employ of the state, his name does not appear in the compilation of the French government of 1903. Nor have we found him mentioned in Stone's *Our French Allies* (Providence, 1884), nor in Balch, or the other works on the French in America during the Revolution. For his portrait, see *Bostonian Society Publications*, Vol. 10, p. 34.

was Suffren, perhaps the greatest naval genius that the French nation has produced, whose fierce encounters with Sir Edward Hughes won for him the admiration of our Captain Mahan, and on the "Sagittaire" was d'Albert de Rions, in Suffren's estimation the foremost officer in the French navy.

There was another captain, the Chevalier de Raimondis, commander of the 74 "César," which, separated from its sisters by the storm, had a lively encounter with a British vessel, in which the French captain lost his right arm. When de Raimondis arrived in Boston General Heath, the American commander, went to see him, and expressed regret at the Frenchman's misfortune, to which the brave officer replied, though still weak from his wound, "I am ready to lose my other arm in the cause of the Americans." And thereupon, perhaps with prophetic vision, Heath wrote in his Memoirs these words, "Remember this, ye Americans, in future times."

My friends, America has remembered. From the beginning of the present cruel war our hearts have beat for the French people who have withstood so bravely and so well the fierce onslaught upon their liberties and the freedom of Europe. Already the blood of American youth has been shed on the soil of France, and now we have entered the struggle as a nation. The call to arms has gone forth throughout this land, and were the question asked, "Are ye ready to fight that France may live?" back would come but one reply, "Yes, for we remember."

De Raimondis was a second Frenchman who came to us when we were fighting for independence, a "regular" in the naval forces of the French king, and Boston was to know yet one other. D'Estaing and his ships were received here with enthusiasm, and receptions were the order of the day. But there were British sympathizers and discontented persons in the community, and not long after the French arrived a riot occurred which ended seriously and threatened still more disastrous consequences. So far as can be found out it happened

in this way. The admiral set up a bakery for his fleet in the town, and on the night of the 8th of September, 1778, a crowd gathered there demanding bread, which being refused they attacked the bakers, and two officers of the fleet, one the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur, who attempted to intervene and restore order, were wounded. The American authorities were greatly troubled. It was felt that the very existence of the alliance with France might be at stake, for de Saint-Sauveur was not only an officer of rank in the fleet but a man of position in France and the first chamberlain of the king's brother. Guards were ordered to patrol the streets to prevent further disturbance and a reward was offered for the apprehension of the rioters, yet it never has been determined just who were responsible for the affray.

De Saint-Sauveur's wound was mortal. Lingering a week, he died on the 15th of September, and the next day the General Court of Massachusetts, expressing its detestation of the perpetrators and abettors of the horrid deed which ended his life, and out of respect to his memory, voted to attend his body to the place of interment and to provide a monumental stone in the burial ground where his remains should be deposited, with such inscription as the Count d'Estaing might order.

The Count, who through all bore himself in a manner which will forever make the city of Boston and the whole country his debtors, was deeply grateful for the sentiment which the Court expressed, but it was thought advisable that the funeral be less public, and the unhappy young man was buried at night, it is believed beneath us in this church, and without display, exactly as he had wished it.

Listen to the account of the burial as told by the secretary of the fleet:

"Eight sailors of the 'Tonnant' bore the coffin on their shoulders. I preceded them with the sexton and grave digger; the recollet M. M. de Borda, de Puységur and Piervères followed; the servant of the deceased and perhaps two or three Frenchmen closed the pro-

cession. We started in that order at ten o'clock, and arriving at the church called King's Chapel, found the basement of the church illuminated with many candles, without ostentation. The vault was opened and the Reverend Father deposited the remains without ceremony. The door of the vault having been closed and padlocked, we returned to sign a certificate of interment which I had already drawn up. In fine, what we had been charged to do could not have been done with more precision and exactness."

And so passed from this world — as d'Estaing wrote to the Council*— one who fell a victim to the desire he had of preserving the lives of others, and who expressed in his last moments, and with his last words, the hope that his misfortune might only serve to cement still further the union between France and America.

The funeral having taken place, the allied leaders endeavored so far as possible to forget the incident and to remove all traces of ill feeling which it may have left. D'Estaing and his officers appeared publicly in Boston in full dress. They were saluted in the harbor and were met upon their landing by a committee of both houses of the legislature and conducted to the Council chamber. After the reception there, they had breakfast with General Hancock and later took punch with Heath at headquarters. Tradition has it that the Common was resplendent with the gold lace of the visitors and that Madam Hancock, in order to meet the situation with which she was confronted, had to send out and milk all the cows on the Common.

A few days later there was a grand public dinner in Faneuil Hall, where but two short weeks ago the city entertained the great Marshal of modern France.† The dinner of 1778 was attended by upwards of five hundred guests, and twenty-three toasts were drunk to the accompaniment of the discharge of

* Letter of Sept. 19, 1778, in the State Archives, Documents, Vol. 200, p. 103, printed in the Report of the Committee on Libraries (1905), Senate No. 336, p. 16.

† Marshal Joffre and the French War Mission May 12, 1917.

cannon. One of the toasts we may repeat in spirit today– "The Alliance between France and America; may it never be broken."

Thus, through the wisdom exercised by both sides, was closed a most unfortunate affair. And too well was it forgotten, for upon inquiry made one hundred and twenty-five years after the Chevalier's death as to where in Boston the monument to him was erected, it was discovered that the vote of the Court had never been carried out. Just why, is a mystery; but now the promise of the state has been fulfilled; the shaft bearing the inscription written by d'Estaing has been unveiled before us, and we are gathered together in this church to commemorate the event.

Let me recite the inscription in English:

"In memory of the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur, First Chamberlain of His Royal Highness Count d'Artois, brother of his Majesty, the King of France.

"This officer, Aide-Major of the French Fleet and a Lieutenant on the 'Tonnant,' after having had the happiness of risking his life for the United States, was in the performance of his duty when he became the victim of a tumult caused by persons of evil intent; dying with the same attachment for America, the ties of duty and sympathy which bind his compatriots to the City of Boston have thus been drawn tighter. May all efforts to separate France and America be as unfruitful. Such is the prayer to Almighty God which in the centuries to come every Frenchman and American will offer whose eyes shall fall upon this monument to a young man taken from his friends, who can be consoled for his loss only by seeing such funeral flowers spread upon his tomb."

Noble words and true. And what time more fitting than the present for this occasion, when we find ourselves once more allied with France, not for the independence of a single nation, but in a great war for the independence of the nations of the world — to make the world "safe for democracy." For this stone which the Commonwealth has raised is more than a monument to one man, or evidence of the good faith of the

THE GOVERNOR, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR AND SPEAKERS
IN FRONT OF THE MONUMENT.

state, it is a memorial to a time long since past; yes, — it is more than that, it is a perpetual reminder of the friendship of America and France, which has endured these hundred years, just as de Saint-Sauveur hoped that it might – and which, pray God, may endure forever.

And so, the monument has been placed in the heart of this great and historic city of Boston, where so much has been done for human liberty, and where so much has been done to alleviate the sufferings of mankind, placed where the throngs passing daily upon the street may see and pause to consider, and where in future years the American father may come with his son, and when the son asks, "Father, what is that monument for?" may reply, "My son, that is a memorial to a young French officer who lost his life in Boston when France was helping us to gain our independence, erected by the STATE to show that we have not forgotten the sacrifice which he and other Frenchmen then made for us, and as a mark of our regard for France, liberty loving like us and one with us in the cause of humanity and civilization, a union which with God's help we shall neither of us sever."

The last speaker was Major Paul Azan who spoke in French.

ADDRESS OF MAJOR AZAN.

Excellence, Mesdames et Messieurs:

L'absence de M. Jusserand, qui compte de si nombreuses sympathies dans les villes de Boston et de Cambridge, me donne le grand honneur de représenter aujourd'hui la France dans cette touchante cérémonie.

Ainsi, par un étrange concours de circonstances, c'est un officier français qui a le privilège, après 139 ans, de donner le salut de la Mère-Patrie à une tombe presque oubliée. La "General Court" n'avait pas prévu, en 1778, que son voeu serait réalisé si tardivement, alors que d'autres officiers seraient venus en Massachusetts, apporter aux jeunes gens de

l'Université Harvard le fruit d'une expérience acquise sur les champs de bataille.

Si le temps a passé, les sentiments affectueux qui unissaient nos deux nations au XVIII[e] siècle ne se sont pas atténués ; ils se sont même singulièrement développés depuis quelques années. C'est aux jours d'épreuve qu'on reconnaît les véritables amitiés. L'amitié américaine s'est révélée sous toutes ses formes : par une inépuisable charité, par une assistance morale de tous les instants, par une intervention militaire dont les effets étonneront le monde.

Ceux qui ne connaissent pas suffisament l'âme française et l'âme américaine ne comprennent pas toute la profondeur de cette attirance mutuelle, basée sur la délicatesse de sentiments, sur l'estime réciproque et surtout sur un amour commun de l'indépendance.

Au temps du chevalier de Saint-Sauveur, un officier français, le capitaine de Raimondis, qui était manchot, et dont on vous parlait tout-à-l'heure avec éloquence, disait qu'il donnerait sans hésiter le bras qui lui restait pour la cause américaine. Les officiers français d'aujourd'hui pensent de même ; et plus d'un, malgré les blessures reçues, ne rêve qu'à retourner au combat, pour faire triompher avec l'armée américaine le principe de la liberté des peuples.

Toutes les rivalités, toutes les inimitiés qui pouvaient exister à l'époque du chevalier de Saint-Sauveur ont disparu, laissant s'établir une intimité complète entre les peuples amis de l'independance. . .

La légende rapporte que, si le chevalier de Saint-Sauveur fut frappé par la foule, c'est par suite d'une erreur qui l'avait fait prendre pour un Anglais. Aujourd'hui, les Anglais sont nos alliés, nos amis ; nulle trace ne reste, dans notre esprit, des inimitiés d'autrefois, parce que les Anglais se sont toujours battus en gentlemen, avec des procédés loyaux. Nous marchons maintenant avec eux la main dans la main, comme avec les Américains.

Aussi y a-t-il, dans la cérémonie de ce jour, un symbole

touchant de l'amitié entre nos trois peuples. Nous venons, devant ce monument, non seulement déplorer le malheureux accident arrivé naguère à un officier français, mais encore célébrer la réconciliation des peuples américain et français avec les Anglais, leurs ennemis d'antan. Tous sont unis aujourd'hui pour la même cause, et défendent avec ardeur la civilisation menaçée.

Et vous, chevalier de Saint-Sauveur, qui avez eu jadis des funérailles modestes, avec une assistance restreinte, dans l'obscurité de la nuit, vous recevez aujourd'hui un hommage éclatant. C'est la population de Boston, ce sont les hauts dignitaires de l'Etat, ce sont les représentants de la plus vieille Université de l'Amérique qui viennent ici honorer votre mémoire.

Leur hommage va, par dessus votre monument, à la France héroique, à la France qui se bat, à la France qui a été incarnée récemment ici par un de ses plus illustres généraux, le maréchal Joffre. Il va au soldat des tranchées, qui depuis bientôt trois ans combat sans répit, mais sans faiblesse. Il va enfin au soldat américain, qui partagera bientôt les souffrances et les dangers du soldat français ; il va à cette armée en formation dont l'entrée en ligne décidera certainement la Victoire.

TRANSLATION.

By Professor BARRETT WENDELL of Harvard University.

Your Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen :

The absence of Monsieur Jusserand, who has so many friendships in Boston and in Cambridge, brings me to-day the great honor of representing France in the touching ceremony for which we are gathered together.

So, by a remarkable chain of circumstances, it is a French officer, who has the privilege, after 139 years, of bringing the benediction of the Mother Country to a tomb almost forgotten. In 1778, the General Court could never have thought that its purpose would stay unfulfilled until a time when

other French officers should have come to Massachusetts, bearing to Harvard Students the fruit of experience to be found only on the fields of battle.

Yet, though time has passed, the bonds of affection which held our two nations together in the 18th century have nowise weakened; rather, in these latest years they have grown stronger than ever. It is in days of stress that we come to know what friendships are true. The friendship of America for France, in these days has proved itself in every way. In charity it has been boundless, in moral support it has been unfailing, in military aid it has begun a work of which the results will surprise the world.

None but those who truly know the soul of France and the soul of America can understand the full strength of the mutual attraction which thus binds our countries together. It is a matter not only of tender feeling, not only of regard for each others' virtues, but most of all a matter of our common passion for national independence.

In the times of the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur, a French officer, Captain de Raimondis, who had lost an arm, said that he would eagerly give the arm that was left him for the cause of American independence. French officers of to-day are of the same mind; in spite of wounds hardly healed they think only of when they may be allowed to rejoin the battle, to fight with Americans at their side for the great principle that peoples must be free.

Every rivalry, every enmity which may have existed when the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur was here is now a thing of the past. The peoples who love independence are now completely one.

There is a tradition that when the Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur was struck down by a mob, it was because by some blunder of their own, the mob fancied him to be English. At that time the English were at war with America, and with France too. To-day they are our friends, our allies, and those of America as well. In France there is no trace left of the

old feuds. From beginning to end the English have fought like loyal gentlemen. We are glad to march with them side by side, hand in hand, just as we are glad to grasp the hands of Americans.

So the ceremony of to-day is a beautiful symbol of the friendship which now animates our three peoples. We come here, not only to lament the luckless accident which in olden time befell a gallant French officer, but more still to celebrate the reconciliation of nations in his days at war with one another. All three are to-day united in a common cause; all alike are arisen to defend and to preserve civilization, threatened by their common foe.

So you, Chevalier de Saint-Sauveur, you whose funeral was so simple, with few mourners, and in the darkness of night, you receive to-day a tribute such as few have known. The people of Boston, the dignitaries of the state, the representatives of the eldest of American universities, are gathered together here, in homage to your loyal memory.

Their homage is rendered not only to you. For them your monument enshrines the ideal of France, heroic, at war—the France embodied here only a few days ago by that most illustrious of our generals, Marshal Joffre. Their homage is rendered as well to the French soldier in the trenches, where for almost three years he has fought incessantly, unfaltering. It is rendered also to the soldier of America who will soon share the hardships and the dangers of the soldier of France. It is rendered to that army, now gathering together, whose joining with ours will bring us all the certainty of Victory.

During the ceremonies all joined in singing the "Star Spangled Banner" and the "Marseillais," and thus did Massachusetts keep as a pledge of love and honor a promise made in the Revolution. When it is considered that on May 24, 1917, the General Court "attended in procession" to the place where, it is recorded, the Chevalier was buried, as the Court had voted to do one hundred and thirty-nine years be-

fore, and there dedicated a monument bearing the inscription which d'Estaing, acting under the vote of the Court, had written, the occasion is shown to be unique in the history of the City and the Commonwealth, and one that those present may well remember.

NOTE

A "communication" in the *Independent Ledger* of September 14, 1778.

The riot which occasioned the issuing a proclamation by the Council of this State, offering an high reward for the discovery and apprehension of those concerned therein, was begun, it's said, by seamen captur'd in British vessels and some of Burgoyne's army who had inlisted as privateers just ready to sail. A body of these fellows demanded, we are told, bread of the French bakers who were employed for the supplying the Count d'Estaing's fleet; being refused, they fell upon the bakers with clubs, and beat them in a most outrageous manner. Two officers of the Count's being apprized of the tumult, and attempting to compose the affray were greatly wounded; one of them is a person of distinguished family and rank. . . . . .

We are well informed that his Excellency the Count D'Estaing, upon hearing of the violence that had been committed . . . . . though much grieved considered the manner in the calmest and most prudent light, and was thoroughly satisfied that it was highly disagreeable to the inhabitants and that every proper method would be taken for finding out and punishing the offenders. Such prudence and moderation mark this great man and must disappoint the hopes of our enemies, who would be glad that every such incident might prove the means of creating dissentions of a more extensive and important nature.

A correspondent observes, that there is a striking contrast between the behavior of the British military of this town, and that of the French. The former, though coming from what we formerly regarded as our *mother country* and with a professed design to support law, and protect us, yet in a wanton and butcherly manner fired upon the inhabitants of Boston, without any just provocation, before they received any assault that might afford even a pretence to so bloody a procedure; the latter now become by the oppression and cruelties of Britain our allies and protectors when assaulted themselves by unknown ruffians, have left their protection and satisfaction entirely in the hands of the civil magistrate. Nay, we have it from good authority, that the General, the Count d'Estaing, has desired that should any inhabitant appear to have been concerned in this affray, he might not be punished, and the centuries at the French baking house were prohibited from using any violence in defending even so necessary an article as bread for their fleet.

JAN 13 1989